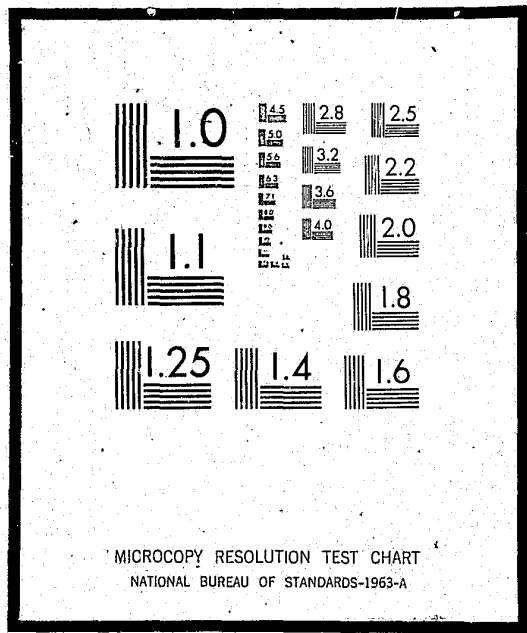


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PROTECTION AGAINST CRIME IN A GHETTO COMMUNITY

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PROTECTION AGAINST CRIME
IN A GHETTO COMMUNITY

In an urban milieu the problem of protection against crime is one which is of concern to almost everyone. One manifestation of this concern is the kind of protective measures engaged in -- measures which affect one's daily way of life. The extent of disruption of a daily routine can vary depending upon the number of precautions taken.

Although the incidence of crime is a topic of interest to many researchers, the concomitant concern -- protection against crime -- is usually given minimal attention. Much of the research pertaining to protection relates to the performance of law enforcement officials (Ennis, 1967, McIntyre, 1967, Reiss, 1967c), rather than to what the individual citizen does to protect him or herself.

In this paper, we will examine the efforts made by residents in a high-crime, high narcotic-addiction, ghetto¹ -- Brooklyn's Bedford-Stuyvesant/Fort Greene area -- to protect themselves from crime in that community. In exploring the precautions engaged in by the respondents, our concern

¹The Human Resources Administration compiled a composite rank of socio-economic factors for every health area in the city, based on: persons receiving financial aid per 1,000 total population; children receiving financial aid per 1,000 population; infant deaths per 1,000 live births; out-of-wedlock births per 100 live births; juvenile offenses per 1,000 youths; youths 7-20 years of age in 1965; and percent of population non-white and Puerto Rican in 1965. The composite ranks ranged from 1 to 10, with 10 indicating greatest need. The mean composite rank of the 14 health areas included in our study area is 8.21. (Human Resources Administration, 1969).

is with how people in social groups differ in their patterns of protection, and what the meaning of such differences is.

After reviewing the literature on protection, we will describe the sampling methods used in collecting the data. The sampling section discusses in detail the problems which arise from the fact that the community includes not only American blacks, the majority of residents in the area, but also blacks of British West Indian origin, Puerto Ricans, and whites.¹ This is followed by a demographic description of our respondents within each race-ethnic group. The protection patterns reported by the residents are analyzed in the last part of the paper.

¹The term "racial-ethnic" is used throughout the text to indicate that both race (black/non-black) and ethnicity (British West Indian, Puerto Rican, others) are being considered simultaneously. For our purposes we will consider four categories: black British West Indians, all other blacks, Puerto Ricans (regardless of race), and all others. The last category is almost totally white, and therefore we will refer to it as such. It should be noted, however, that the category may also include small numbers of Orientals and others not elsewhere classified.

Non-British West Indian blacks are referred to in the text as blacks. The reader should, of course, be aware that British West Indians, who are discussed separately throughout, are not included as blacks for purposes of the discussion.

Review of Literature

Prior to 1964, survey research had paid little attention to crime, whereas in recent years the extent of, and attitudes toward crime are studied more often. The first intensive attempt to use surveys of the public to estimate the incidence of crime was in 1966, when the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice sponsored several surveys to more accurately assess the amount of crime in the United States.

The summary volume produced by the President's Commission, The Challenge of Crime in a Free Society (1967a), together with the Task Force Report; Crime and Its Impact -- an Assessment (1967b), and the Field Surveys I, II, and III, report estimates of crime, social characteristics of victims, perception of crime and its relationship to victimization, and protective measures taken against crime.

In this section of the paper we present the major findings of these and other studies as they relate to protection; the data on victimization and perception of crime from these studies were discussed in an earlier paper (David and Kleinman, 1972).

Field Surveys I

Field Surveys I (Biderman, et al., 1967) collected

data on 511 randomly selected adults in three police districts in Washington, D.C. Respondents were asked if they had "done anything to protect themselves against the dangers of crime." Staying off the streets at night was the most frequently mentioned measure, followed by improving door locks and avoiding being out alone.

Biderman and associates found that women engage in more protective measures than do men. And although white men are more likely than black men to score high on the self-protection index, black women are slightly more likely than white women to score high on this measure. Furthermore, with both sex and race held constant, people with lower incomes have higher self-protection scores than do those with higher incomes.

Field Surveys III

Field Surveys III (Reiss 1967c) investigated how citizens are affected by the crime problem as they define and experience it. A sample of eight police districts in Boston, Chicago, and Washington were sampled, with at least one white and one black precinct with a high crime rate selected in each city. (A separate survey of businesses and organizations was also conducted.) A total of 800 persons was interviewed.

This study found that "only a little less than 4 in 10 residents report they have not changed their habits [of daily] living in any way." (p. 102).

Field Surveys III, like Field Surveys I, showed that women were more likely than men "to alter their daily lives" because of crime. In contrast to Biderman's data which showed that black women were more likely than white women to protect themselves, Reiss found that an equal proportion of black and white women report that they have altered their lives. Biderman's findings are reversed in Reiss' study in that black men are more likely to have changed their lives in two or more ways than are white men.

The ~~specific ways in which their~~ lives have been changed because of fear of crime include staying off the streets at night (the most frequent way), avoiding being out alone at night, not talking to strangers, and using a car or taxi when they do go out at night. Only 10% of the respondents carry something to protect themselves.

Other Studies Dealing with Protection

An Opinion Research Corporation survey (1970) found that at least 80% of respondents in the Bedford-Stuyvesant area engage in some protective measures. The most frequently

reported one was keeping the home locked at all times. Getting special locks or alarms was the next most common practice, and third was going out less frequently at night. As with the other studies discussed in this section, women were more likely than men to engage in these measures.

As can be seen from this brief review, the literature on protection is sparse. Examination of the bibliography compiled by Biderman and associates (1972) confirms the impression that victimization and perception have been the main concern of most researchers.

The Sample

Sampling Procedures

The sample was a quota sample consisting of an equal proportion of men and women. Among the men, half were to be under 30 years old, half over 30. Among the women, half were to be currently employed, half housewives. In the final sample, 53% of the respondents were female and 47% male.¹

¹These proportions correspond to the proportions of men and women in the area, as calculated from the 1970 Census data.

Interviewing was conducted in January through March, 1971 by the National Opinion Research Corporation. An attempt was made to secure black interviewers to minimize interviewer bias, often created by white interviewer-black respondent situations. However, this was not possible to control in all cases. Furthermore, since most interviewers were black, white respondents were likely to be interviewed by a black interviewer.

Racial-Ethnic Composition

Blacks of British West Indian extraction, blacks, Puerto Ricans, and whites are all represented in the community surveyed. Using the sex, age, and employment quotas stated above, British West Indians and Puerto Ricans were over-sampled, in order to yield a large enough number of respondents in each category for analysis. No distinction was made between blacks and whites for the purposes of filling the quota. The target was 150 British West Indians and 100 Puerto Ricans.¹ The sample as finally constituted, has 24% (145) British West Indians, 16% (101) Puerto Ricans, 45% (275) blacks and 15% (89) whites. For the demographic breakdown of each race-ethnic group, the reader is referred to the next section.

¹The definition of British West Indians was that either the respondent or members of the household or parents of household members were born in the British West Indies. The same criteria were used for Puerto Ricans.

The assumption guiding the decision to oversample British West Indians and Puerto Ricans was that these two groups would be sufficiently different from the remainder of the population in the community to justify separate analysis. That this assumption was accurate will be documented below.

Because these two groups were oversampled, it is necessary to weight the responses of blacks and whites, before proceeding to analyze the sample as a whole. Otherwise, members of these groups would be under-represented in the total sample to a lesser extent than their representation in the community would warrant.

In almost any area of the United States, mobility is high enough to warrant the use of 1970 Census data rather than 1960 Census data to compute the weighting factors. These data are not available at the present time; therefore we will proceed as if the four separate race-ethnic groups had been studied independently. Characteristics of each of the four groups will be shown, and relationships between variables will be presented separately for each racial-ethnic group. Therefore, in this report in no cases will data be presented for this community as a whole.

Analysis by the four race-ethnic groups is also advantageous in that it allows us to see how the patterns of victimization and perception differ between groups. Such information would be obscured if data were analyzed in the aggregate.

Social Characteristics of Respondents¹

Respondents' sex, age, socio-economic status, and other social characteristics will figure importantly in later sections of the paper, in terms of understanding both who is victimized and which groups of people are more likely to perceive crime as high. In this section, the distribution of social characteristics within each of the four race-ethnic groups will be presented, as background for the remaining discussion.

Women outnumber men among the blacks in our sample, while the sexes are equally represented among the other race-ethnic groups (Table 1).

Puerto Ricans have the lowest proportion of respondents -- 12% -- over the age of 50. Twenty-three percent of the blacks, 30% of the whites, and 32% of the British West Indians are over 50 (Table 1).

¹In this paper we have adopted the following convention: When the percentage difference is 10% or larger, we consider the relationship important.

Whites in the area have the highest SES,¹ with almost half of those sampled falling in the high category. They are followed by British West Indians and blacks. Only about one-tenth of the Puerto Ricans are in the high SES category (Table 1).

The four race-ethnic groups differ radically in religious background (Table 1). Puerto Ricans are overwhelmingly Catholic; blacks overwhelmingly Protestant. Almost half of the whites are Catholic and a fifth of them are Jewish. More than half of the British West Indians are Protestant, the remainder Catholic.

Puerto Ricans are least likely to be settled residents in the community. Only a little more than a fifth of the Puerto Ricans have been in the community for as long as 10 years, while over a third of those in the other groups have been long-term residents in the area. Whites and British West Indians, although well represented among the long-time residents, also have substantial proportions (30% and 31%) among those who have been in the community for two years or less; 23% of the Puerto Ricans are newcomers to the area. Blacks are the most settled residents, with only 16% having lived in it for less than 2 years (Table 2).

¹See Appendix A for a discussion of the SES index.

About three-quarters of the Puerto Ricans and blacks have at least some relatives living in the area. A somewhat smaller proportion (67%) of British West Indians and only 46% of the whites, have any relatives in the area (Table 3).

Whites (40%) are more likely to attend church frequently (i.e., weekly) than are blacks (25%); the proportion of weekly church-goers among the British West Indians is 33%; for Puerto Ricans it is 32% (Table 4).

Puerto Ricans are less likely to belong to organizations in the area; 13% belong compared to 27%, 29% and 30% of the whites, blacks, and British West Indians respectively (Table 5).

Although ~~not a~~ ^{social} characteristic, being offered stolen goods does figure in our analysis; for this reason we present the race-ethnic differences on this variable here. Puerto Ricans are more likely than members of other race-ethnic groups to have been offered stolen goods (46%). Thirty-six percent of the blacks, 29% of the British West Indians, and only 19% of the whites have had this experience (Table 6).

Correlates of Protection

Protection was measured by the respondent's answer to whether he or she practiced each of seven protective measures. The distribution of responses by race-ethnicity is shown in Table D-1. The most frequently practiced measure within all race-ethnic groups is to walk only on certain streets, with at least one-third of the respondents engaging in this precaution. The use of special locks or alarms in the home is mentioned next most frequently by British West Indians, blacks and whites.

Relatively small proportions of any of the race-ethnic groups have gotten a watch-dog, carry a weapon, or have ~~taken lessons in self-defense~~. Thus the most common measures of protection are passive ones rather than aggressive ones.

When comparable questions were asked in Biderman's study of Washington, D.C., (1967) and the Opinion Research Corporation study of Bedford-Stuyvesant (1969), generally similar patterns were found.¹

¹In Biderman's study, 38% said they avoided staying out alone at night, compared to 33% in the ARTC study. Nine percent said they carried weapons for protection, compared to 14% in the ARTC study. In the 1969 study of Bedford-Stuyvesant, roughly the same proportions were shown to engage in the two forms of protection just discussed. (p. 29.) Strangely, a larger proportion of people in the 1969 study said that they had special locks or alarms to protect themselves or their property -- 55%, compared to 34% in the ARTC study.

An index of protection¹ was formed by adding all of the measures of protection practiced by each respondent. This index was then dichotomized by separating those who practiced less than two and those who practiced two or more measures.

Puerto Ricans are most likely of all the race-ethnic groups to practice two or more protective measures, shown in Table 7. They are more likely than members of the other three ethnic groups to restrict themselves to certain streets, and to be accompanied when they go out after dark, Table D-1. It is their relatively great use of these two measures which accounts for their over-all high rate of protection. It is of interest that both of these measures involve precautions taken on the street.

On the other hand, the relatively small proportion of British West Indians who protect themselves two or more times cannot be attributed to an unusually low likelihood of engaging in any one or two particular protective measures.

Victimization and Protection

It seems reasonable to suppose that those who had been victimized in the past, would, because of their experience, be more likely to protect themselves in many

¹See Appendix D for a description of this index.

ways than would those who had not been directly affected by crime. This is indeed the case, as Table 8 shows. The relationship between protection and victimization¹ is strongest for blacks -- only 43% of blacks not victimized in the last year, and fully 65% of blacks victimized once or more in the last year, protect themselves in two or more ways. This relationship is weakest for Puerto Ricans, because a very large proportion (60%) of Puerto Ricans who had not been victimized nevertheless practice two or more protective measures.

Even though those who have been victimized are more likely to protect themselves in two or more ways, it is important to note that past victimization by no means accounts for ~~all~~ of the variation in number of protective measures practiced. Even among blacks, whose protective behavior is most likely to vary with victimization, 35% of those victimized in the last year protect themselves in only one way or not at all.

¹See Appendix B for a description of the Victimization index.

Perception of Crime

Those who perceive a high level of crime¹ in the area would seem to have more grounds for practicing two or more protective measures than those who perceive that there is low crime in the area. This assumption is confirmed, although the relationship is not perfectly linear for each race-ethnic group, as seen in Table 9. Again, the relationship between protection and perception of crime is strongest among blacks. As with victimization, perception of crime accounts for only a moderate amount of the variation in protective behavior, even among blacks.

Perception of crime has (David and Kleinman, 1972) previously been ~~shown to be related~~ to victimization. It might be supposed that if the effects on protection of victimization and perception of crime were considered simultaneously, that the relationship between perception and protection would be shown to be spurious. Although the small number of base cases in some cells requires a conservative interpretation, Table 10 suggests that in general both perception of crime and victimization have an impact on protection.

¹See Appendix C for description of the perception of crime index.

Demographic Characteristics

Women are at least slightly more likely to protect themselves than are men in all race-ethnic groups, although the difference between the sexes exceeds 10% only among blacks, shown in Table 11. The difference between men and women is only 3% among Puerto Ricans -- Puerto Rican men are almost as likely to practice two or more protective measures as are Puerto Rican women. That women generally protect themselves more than men can probably be understood in light of prescriptions in our society that it is more appropriate for women than men to be concerned about their safety and to do something about it.

This finding is consistent with that of Biderman (1967), Reiss (1967c), and the Opinion Research Corporation (1970), all of whom found that women protect themselves more than men do.

Old people of all race-ethnic groups, except whites, are more likely to protect themselves than are young people; however the difference is only 7% among British West Indians, Table 12. This is also understandable, since old age generally brings a lessening of physical prowess as well as a greater chance of physical disability.

High SES British West Indians and Puerto Ricans are more likely to practice two or more protective measures than are their low SES co-ethnics. SES has little impact on level of protection among blacks and whites, shown in Table 13. In contrast, Biderman and associates, found that people with low incomes scored higher on the self-protection index than did people with high incomes.

Visibility and Contact

Visibility to others, the possibility of being seen and known in the community, was earlier hypothesized to be positively related to victimization. It was suggested that this visibility is a contributing factor in victimization, at least with respect to those crimes that are planned in advance. (David and Kleinman, 1972.)

We suggested also that people who are more visible are also more likely to have contact with others in the community, that contact and visibility are in effect, two sides of the same coin, and that contact with others is positively related to the perception that crime in the area is high.

We propose here that contact with others is also positively correlated with protection. Those who talk with many other people become aware that others practice

many protective measures -- and as a result, it is likely that they come to feel that they should also be engaging in protecting themselves.

Long-term residents of all race-ethnic groups, except whites, are more apt to practice two or more protective measures than are newcomers to the community, as Table 14 shows. Since those who have been in the community for a long time are more apt to be victimized, and since their hypothesized frequent interaction leads to a generally high perception of crime (except among whites), it seems reasonable to assume that intensity of interaction would support the practice of two or more protective measures.

A further demonstration of the influence of contact with people on protection is seen among blacks. Those who attend church weekly, and those who have many relatives in the area, are more likely to practice two or more protective measures than those who are less frequent church-goers and those with less than half of their relatives in the community, Tables 15 and 16. The earlier paper showed (p.28) that blacks who had high contact with others as measured by church-going and relatives in the area were also more likely to perceive crime as high.

Contact with people is also important in understanding protective patterns among whites. Whites who are

church members, and whites who have many relatives in the area, are more apt to practice two or more protective measures than are whites who are infrequent churchgoers and whites who have no relatives in the area (Tables 15 and 16).

A peculiarity of the data, as they apply to whites, lies in the earlier finding that white church members, and whites with relatives in the area, are less likely to perceive crime as high than are whites with the opposite characteristics (p.29). We suggested earlier that these whites, because of their family and church ties, were more insulated from the community at large than were whites who lacked such ties. It now appears possible that the apparent low perception of crime on the part of these whites may be due to a denial of crime in the area, which is belied by their high levels of protection. For example, as whites in a black ghetto, they may feel that the socially acceptable response to questions about amount of crime in the area is that it is low.

The idea that contact with others is related to high levels of protection is partially confirmed by the experience of Puerto Ricans and British West Indians. Members of both groups who have more than half of their

relatives in the area are more likely to protect themselves than co-ethnics with fewer relatives in the area. However, there is no relationship between protection and church attendance when members of either of these race-ethnic groups are considered.

The experience of having been offered stolen goods has also been considered to be an indicator of contact with others. An examination of Table 17 shows that the data are consistent with this hypothesis for members of all race-ethnic groups except whites, although it is as large as 10% only for Puerto Ricans. These data show that a smaller proportion of whites than of members of the other ethnic groups report that they have been offered stolen goods. Possibly this small group of whites has had stolen goods offered to them because they are more visible to and have more contact with the fences. Their relatively low level of protection may be due to the fact that they have nothing to fear because they personally know potential victimizers.

Organization membership has no impact on level of protection among blacks, whites or British West Indians, and among Puerto Ricans the number of organization members is too small to make accurate comparison possible (Table 18).

Conclusion

One of the notable findings in this paper is that Puerto Ricans were found to be more likely than members of other race-ethnic groups to engage in two or more protective measures.

As might be expected, respondents who were victimized in the last year were more likely than non-victims to engage in two or more protective measures. Those persons who perceive crime in the area as high are also more likely to engage in many protective measures than those who view crime as low.

As was found in other studies, women are more likely to protect themselves than are men. So too are older people more likely than younger people to take two or more precautions.

The hypothesis that visibility and contact are positively related to both victimization and perception of crime has also been extended to protection.

In this paper and the victimization paper (David and Kleinman, 1972), visibility/contact was measured by length of residence in the area, church attendance, relatives in the area, being offered stolen goods, and organization membership.

Long-term residents are more likely than newcomers to protect themselves. Frequent church attendance and having many relatives living in the area are positively related to practicing two or more protective measures for both blacks and whites. Frequent church attendance is also positively correlated with protection among Puerto Ricans and British West Indians.

Being offered stolen goods is positively related to protection, except for whites. We suggest that this latter group, whites who have been offered stolen goods, may be less afraid because of their high visibility to and acquaintance with the fences.

Although the hypothesis of visibility to and contact with others in the community is not air-tight, the data presented herein generally do support the hypothesis of a positive relationship between visibility/contact and protection.

TABLE 1

SUMMARY TABLE: DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE:
SEX, AGE, SES AND RELIGION
BY RACE-ETHNICITY

	<u>Race-Ethnicity</u>			
	<u>British West Indian</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>White</u>
Percentage female	48 (145)	59 (275)	48 (101)	47 (89)
Percentage over 50	32 (143)	23 (269)	12 (100)	30 (87)
Percentage high SES	39 (145)	27 (275)	11 (101)	46 (89)
Percentage Protestant	64 (145)	90 (275)	11 (101)	22 (89)

TABLE 2
LENGTH OF RESIDENCE BY RACE-ETHNICITY

<u>Length of Residence</u>	<u>Race-Ethnicity</u>			
	<u>British West Indian</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>White</u>
Under 2 years	31	16	23	30
2 - 5 years	17	22	31	21
5 - 9 years	16	24	24	9
10 or more years	<u>36</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>40</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(145)	(275)	(101)	(89)

TABLE 3

RELATIVES IN AREA BY RACE-ETHNICITY

<u>Relatives in Area</u>	<u>Race-Ethnicity</u>			
	<u>British West Indian</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>White</u>
More than half	15	16	18	20
Less than half	53	61	58	26
None	<u>32</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>54</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(145)	(275)	(101)	(89)

TABLE 4
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE
BY RACE-ETHNICITY

Frequency of Attendance	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
Once a week	33	25	32	40
Once a month or more	31	25	24	16
Seldom or never	36	50	44	44
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(126)	(244)	(91)	(62)

TABLE 5
ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP BY RACE-ETHNICITY

Percentage belonging	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
	30	29	13	27
	(145)	(275)	(101)	(89)

TABLE 6
OFFERED STOLEN GOODS BY RACE-ETHNICITY

Percentage offered	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
	29	36	46	19
	(145)	(273)	(101)	(86)

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE MEASURES BY RACE-ETHNICITY

Percentage practicing 2 or more protective measures	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
	44 (145)	52 (275)	64 (101)	58 (89)

TABLE 8
PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE MEASURES BY RECENT VICTIMIZATION AND RACE-ETHNICITY

Recent Victimization	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
Never	30 (33)	43 (162)	60 (57)	52 (56)
Once or more	52 (52)	65 (113)	68 (44)	67 (33)

TABLE 9
PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE MEASURES BY PERCEPTION OF CRIME AND RACE-ETHNICITY

Perception of Crime	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
Low	38 (56)	35 (95)	49 (35)	52 (46)
Medium	41 (58)	53 (92)	75 (40)	64 (22)
High	61 (31)	69 (88)	65 (26)	62 (21)

TABLE 10

PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE
MEASURES BY PERCEPTION OF CRIME, RECENT
VICTIMIZATION AND RACE-ETHNICITY

Perception of Crime	Race-Ethnicity											
	British West Indian			Black			Puerto Rican			White		
	Victimization			Victimization			Victimization			Victimization		
	0	1+	D	0	1+	D	0	1+	D	0	1+	D
High	[60] (15)	[63] (16)	+ 3	63 (43)	6 (45)	+13	[63] (8)	[67] (18)	*	[50] (12)	[78] (9)	
Medium	34 (32)	50 (26)	+16	47 (53)	62 (39)	+15	72 (25)	[80] (15)	+ 8	[70] (10)	[58] (12)	
Low	37 (37)	[40] (10)	+ 3	26 (66)	55 (29)	+29	46 (24)	55 (30)	+ 9	47 (34)	[67] (12)	
D.	-23	-23		-37	-21		-17	-12		*	*	

Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases are bracketed.

TABLE 11

PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE
MEASURES BY SEX AND RACE-ETHNICITY

Sex	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
Male	40 (75)	43 (114)	62 (53)	53 (47)
Female	49 (70)	58 (161)	65 (48)	62 (42)

TABLE 12

PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE
MEASURES BY AGE AND RACE-ETHNICITY

Age	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
18-29	36 (28)	44 (81)	59 (27)	63 (27)
30-49	48 (69)	53 (126)	64 (61)	59 (34)
50+	43 (46)	58 (62) [75]	(12)	46 (26)

Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases are bracketed.

TABLE 13

PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE
MEASURES BY SES AND RACE-ETHNICITY

SES	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
Low	33 (52)	58 (109)	63 (51)	55 (20)
Medium	49 (37)	43 (92)	62 (39)	57 (28)
High	52 (56)	54 (74) [73]	(11)	59 (41)

Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases are bracketed.

TABLE 14

PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE
MEASURES BY LENGTH OF RESIDENCE AND RACE-ETHNICITY

Length of Residence	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
Under 2 years	29 (45)	42 (45)	43 (23)	56 (27)
2-9 years	46 (48)	56 (128)	64 (56)	59 (27)
10 or more years	56 (52)	51 (102)	82 (22)	57 (35)

TABLE 15

PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE MEASURES BY RELATIVES IN AREA AND RACE-ETHNICITY

Relatives In Area	Race-Ethnicity				
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White	
More than half	50 (22)	64 (44) [72]	(18)	[72]	(18)
Less than half	46 (76)	51 (167)	68 (59)	43	(23)
None	38 (47)	47 (64)	46 (24)	58	(48)

Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases are bracketed.

TABLE 16

PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE MEASURES BY CHURCH ATTENDANCE AND RACE-ETHNICITY

Church Attendance	Race-Ethnicity				
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White	
Once a week	50 (42)	57 (61)	66 (29)	72	(25)
Once a month	36 (39)	66 (62)	59 (22)	[60]	(10)
Less than once a month	47 (45)	44 (121)	63 (40)	52	(27)

Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases are bracketed.

TABLE 17

PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE MEASURES BY OFFERED STOLEN GOODS AND RACE-ETHNICITY

Offered Stolen Goods	Race-Ethnicity				
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White	
Yes	48 (42)	58 (98)	70 (46)	[31]	(16)
No	43 (103)	49 (175)	58 (55)	61	(70)

Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases are bracketed.

TABLE 18

PERCENTAGE PRACTICING TWO OR MORE PROTECTIVE MEASURES BY ORGANIZATION MEMBERSHIP AND RACE-ETHNICITY

Belong to Organization	Race-Ethnicity				
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White	
Yes	45 (44)	53 (81) [46]	(13)	63	(24)
No	44 (101)	52 (194)	66 (88)	55	(65)

Percentage based on fewer than 20 cases are bracketed.

APPENDIX A

Socioeconomic Status (SES) Index

The socioeconomic status (SES) index consists of three items--education of the head of household, occupation of head of household, and income of the family.

In reviewing the cases that constituted our sample, it was decided that the use of education and occupation of the household head, rather than the respondent, would result in a more precise index of socioeconomic status. It has been well documented that women derive their status from that of their husbands; therefore in those cases where the respondent was female and her husband was household head, his education and occupation would be a better measure of family status than would hers. In our sample of 612 cases, 550, or 90% had either a male respondent who was the head of the household or a female respondent who was married to the male head of the household.

Data for the head of the household were also used for the remaining 10% of the sample. In some of these cases the respondent was a child in the family who was over 18 years old, but still dependent on his family for support. In other cases the respondent was a second-generation member of a three-generation family, in which the source of support came from the first generation family member(s).

Education was scaled into nine categories as follows:

No school	1
6th grade or less	2
7th-8th grade	3
9th-11th grade	4
High school graduate	5
Vocational school	6
Some college	7
4 year college graduate	8
Post-graduate	9

Occupation¹ was similarly classified into nine groups:

Laborer and farm laborer	1
Service	2
Operative	3
Craftsman	4
Sales	5
Clerical	6
Proprietor, manager, official	7
Farm owner or manager	8
Professional or semi- professional	9

¹Almost all female head of households had worked at some point in their lives; the response to their "usual work" was coded for occupation. For those women who had never worked but who were household heads, education and income were added together, and 1.5 times that score was their final SES score (i.e., high school graduate earning \$6,300 a year, is $5 + 5 = 10 \times 1.5 = 15$).

Income of the entire family was the only income item in the questionnaire, and was coded:

Under \$2,000	1
\$2,000-\$3,999	2
\$4,000-\$4,999	3
\$5,000-\$5,999	4
\$6,000-\$6,999	5
\$7,000-\$7,999	6
\$8,000-\$9,999	7
\$10,000-\$14,999	8
\$15,000 and over	9

The three items were added together yielding a range of 3-27. The index was collapsed into low (3-9), medium (10-14), and high (15-27). The distribution on this index by race-ethnicity is shown in Table A-1.

It should be noted that the labels--low, medium, and high--reflect scores on this index, relative to the rest of this sample. These are not the traditional lower, middle, and upper classes.

TABLE A-1
SES BY RACE-ETHNICITY

<u>SES</u>	<u>British West Indian</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>White</u>
Low	36	40	50	22
Medium	25	33	39	32
High	<u>39</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>46</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(145)	(275)	(101)	(89)

APPENDIX B

Recent Victimization

The respondent was first asked whether he or she had ever been a victim of any of nine crimes. If he responded affirmatively to any of the nine items, he was asked: "How many times did this happen to you around here in the last 12 months?" The total number of times that a respondent had been victimized on all items combined was summed, yielding a range of 0-13.

Table B-1 shows the number of times respondents had been victimized in the last year for each item, by race-ethnicity. Table B-2 shows distribution on the recent victimization index ~~by race-ethnicity~~.

In preliminary analysis, this index had four categories: not victimized in the last year; victimized once; victimized 2-3 times; and victimized 4-13 times in the last year. Because of the necessity of analyzing all relationships by race-ethnicity, respondents were divided into two groups: those not victimized in the last year, and those victimized once or more in the last year.

TABLE B-1

PERCENTAGE VICTIMIZED^a (INDEX COMPONENTS SEPARATELY)
BY RACE-ETHNICITY

<u>Index Components</u>	<u>British West Indian</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>White</u>
Have your house broken into	32 (145)	29 (275)	29 (101)	25 (89)
Have a check stolen	12 (145)	12 (275)	16 (101)	10 (89)
Have your pocket picked (or purse snatched)	11 (145)	13 (275)	17 (101)	17 (89)
Were you ever the victim of armed robbery	6 (145)	7 (275)	15 (101)	8 (89)
Were you ever swindled or conned	9 (145)	5 (275)	14 (101)	10 (89)
Were you ever mugged	7 (145)	6 (275)	13 (101)	12 (89)
Did you ever have your car broken into	8 (145)	10 (275)	14 (101)	11 (89)
Did you ever have your car stolen	7 (145)	8 (275)	8 (101)	0 (89)
Were you ever sexually assaulted	0 (145)	* (275)	2 (101)	3 (89)

*Less than 1%

^aDoes not add to 100% because some respondents were victims of more than one crime.

APPENDIX C

Perception of Crime

Three items--whether the amount of crime is greater or less in this area than in other parts of New York City, whether the amount of crime in the area has increased or decreased in the last year, and whether crime in the area will increase or decrease in the next year--were used to construct the perception of crime index. Table C-1 shows the distribution on each of the component items by race-ethnicity.

The items were then added together, yielding a range of 3-9.¹ The distribution on this index by race-ethnicity is shown in Table C-2.

¹In the question comparing crime in the area to crime elsewhere in New York, the categories "much more" and "a little more" were combined into a single category.

TABLE B-2

NUMBER OF TIMES VICTIMIZED IN LAST YEAR
BY RACE-ETHNICITY

<u>Number of Times Victimized</u>	<u>British West Indian</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>White</u>
0	64	60	56	63
1	17	15	12	12
2-3	13	17	12	15
4-13 ^a	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>10</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(145)	(275)	(101)	(89)

^aLess than 1% of the sample fell into each of the categories above 7 times victimized in the last year.

TABLE C-1

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES TO COMPONENTS
OF THE PERCEPTION OF CRIME INDEX
BY RACE-ETHNICITY

a) Amount of crime in area compared to other parts of
New York City

	<u>British West Indian</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>White</u>
Much more	17	27	21	31
A little more				
About the same	43	45	36	31
Less	32	26	40	31
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(145)	(275)	(101)	(89)

b) Crime in area compared to a year ago

More	28	37	32	36
About the same	26	38	43	38
Less	13	23	21	15
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>11</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(144)	(275)	(101)	(88)

c) Crime in the area next year will probably be:

More	45	44	54	30
About the same	30	33	27	37
Less	17	19	12	18
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>15</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(145)	(275)	(101)	(89)

TABLE C-2

PERCEPTION OF CRIME IN THE AREA
BY RACE-ETHNICITY

<u>Index Score</u>	<u>British West Indian</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>White</u>
High	21	32	26	24
Medium	40	33	40	24
Low	<u>39</u>	<u>35</u>	<u>34</u>	<u>52</u>
	100%	100%	100%	100%
	(145)	(275)	(101)	(89)

APPENDIX D

The protection index was formed by adding all of the protective measures taken by each respondent. The percentage of persons of each racial-ethnic group responding affirmatively to each of the seven possible measures of protection is shown in Table D-1. Adding these measures together yields a range of 0-7. The distribution on the index by race-ethnicity is shown in Table D-2.

TABLE D-1

PERCENT PRACTICING EACH PROTECTIVE MEASURE
BY RACE-ETHNICITY

	<u>Race-Ethnicity</u>			
	<u>British West Indian</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Puerto Rican</u>	<u>White</u>
Do you only walk on certain streets?	36 (145)	42 (275)	59 (101)	48 (89)
Do you use special locks or alars in your home?	35 (145)	32 (275)	32 (101)	38 (89)
Do you alaway have someone with you when you go out after dark?	24 (145)	33 (275)	52 (101)	25 (89)
Do you use the parks less often?	26 (145)	31 (274)	28 (101)	21 (89)
Did you get a watch dog because of crime around here?	12 (145)	18 (275)	20 (101)	11 (89)
Do you carry a weapon?	12 (144)	17 (272)	14 (101)	11 (88)
Have you taken lessons for self-defense, like karate or judo?	6 (145)	4 (275)	1 (101)	8 (89)

TABLE D-2

NUMBER OF PROTECTIVE MEASURES TAKEN BY RESPONDENTS
BY RACE-ETHNICITY

Number of Measures	Race-Ethnicity			
	British West Indian	Black	Puerto Rican	White
0	30	22	11	17
1	26	26	26	26
2	20	24	31	42
3-7	24	28	32	15
	100% (145)	100% (275)	100% (101)	100% (89)

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